

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
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FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8646
INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 6378

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, TU
SUBJECT: SULZBERGER ARTICLES ON TURKEY

REF: STATE 203959

1. SULZBERGER VISITED TURKEY AS GUEST OF SENATOR KAMRAN INAN, THE NEW MINISTER OF ENERGY, AND APPARENTLY AN OLD FRIEND. AFTER A WEEK IN ANKARA, HE AND UK AMBASSADOR IN PARIS WENT FISHING IN EASTERN TURKEY ON A TRIP ARRANGED BY INAN FROM AUGUST 17-22. SULZBERGER REQUESTED EMBASSY'S ASSISTANCE PRIOR TO HIS ARRIVAL IN ARRANGING APPOINTMENTS IN ANKARA WITH ECEVIT, DEMIREL, AND CAGLAYANGIL. WHATEVER OTHER APPOINTMENTS HE HAD, AND WE ASSUME THERE WERE MANY, WERE MADE DIRECTLY THROUGH LOCAL NEW YORK TIMES STRINGER, SO EMBASSY HAS LITTLE KNOWLEDGE ABOUT WHOM ELSE HE TALKED WITH.

2. AMBASSADOR HOSTED LUNCHEON FOR SULZBERGER ON AUGUST 11
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WHICH INCLUDED SEYFI TASHAN, HEAD OF TURKISH FOREIGN POLICY INSTITUTE AND EDITOR OF QUARTERLY "FOREIGN POLICY"; MEHMET ALI KISLALI, LOCAL NEW YORK TIMES STRINGER AND EDITOR OF WEEKLY NEWS MAGAZINE; TURGUT TULUMEN, FOREIGN MINISTRY DIRECTOR GENERAL OF CYPRUS-GREEK AFFAIRS; AND DENIZ BAYKAL, RPP DEPUTY AND FORMER FINMIN. AMEMBASSY POLITICAL COUNSELOR, PUBLIC AFFAIRS COUNSELOR, AND

CHIEF OF JUSMMAT ALSO ATTENDED. AMBASSADOR WAS GUEST OF SULZBERGER AT LUNCH ON AUGUST 13. WE ARE NOT AWARE OF ANY OTHER CONTACTS BETWEEN SULZBERGER AND EMBASSY.

3. FROM SULZBERGER'S ACCOUNT TO AMBASSADOR, DEMIREL AND ECEVIT SPOKE QUITE FREELY AND FRANKLY WITH HIM. IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO JUDGE HOW MUCH OF WHAT SULZBERGER WROTE REPRESENTS HIS OWN VIEWS AND HOW MUCH REFLECTS VIEWS OF OTHERS. IT IS ENTIRELY POSSIBLE THAT DEMIREL USED THE OPPORTUNITY TO CONVEY A PUBLIC MESSAGE TO CARAMANLIS (ANKARA 6184). HE STRESSED TO AMBASSADOR THE THEME WE HAVE HEARD FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT "TIME IS RUNNING OUT" ON OUR BASES HERE (SULZBERGER SAYS SIX MONTHS, FROM OTHER SOURCES WE HAVE HEARD RUMORS OF OCTOBER-NOVEMBER "DEADLINE", AND, AS WE HAVE STATED BEFORE, WE DO NOT KNOW HOW MUCH OF THIS IS BLUFF AND HOW MUCH IS REAL). SULZBERGER PROFESSED SURPRISE AND CONCERN AT DEPTH OF TURKISH BITTERNESS TOWARD U.S. AND REPORTED WIDELY HELD VIEW THAT ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS ARE HOPELESSLY IN THE THRALL OF GREEK LOBBY. SULZBERGER EVINCED GREAT PERSONAL CONCERN OVER LONG-RUN STRATEGIC AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF CONTINUATION OF PRESENT SITUATION.

4. AS FAR AS WE CAN TELL THE WILLY BRANDT IDEA IS SULZBERGER'S OWN, ALTHOUGH IDEA ORIGINALLY FLOATED IN CONNECTION WITH EHMKE'S TRIP TO CYPRUS SOME TIME AGO. SULZBERGER'S APPARENT VIEW WAS THAT BECAUSE OF THE EMBARGO, THE U.S. HAS ITSELF
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BECOME PART OF THE PROBLEM AND HAS THUS VITIATED ITS ROLE AS A POSSIBLE MEDIATOR OR MIDWIFE TO AGREEMENT. SULZBERGER ALSO SAID IT WAS CLEAR TO HIM THAT CLIFFORD PRESS CONFERENCE IN CYPRUS HAD SPOILED ANY FUTURE ROLE FOR CLIFFORD. MANY TURKS HAVE ADVANCED THIS POINT OF VIEW IMPLICITLY TO US BUT NO ONE AS YET HAS PUT IT THAT STARKLY. IMPRESSION AMBASSADOR GOT FROM SULZBERGER WAS THAT TURKS HAD BEEN MUCH MORE EXPLICIT WITH HIM ON THIS POINT. SULZBERGER IMPLIED THAT HE HAD MENTIONED THE WILLY BRANDT IDEA WITH DEMIREL BUT WE GOT NO INDICATION OF ANY CLEAR REACTION, IF ANY, FROM THE TURKS. PRESUMABLY TURKISH POLICY-MAKING PROCESSES WOULD BE JUST AS DIFFICULT, OR ALMOST AS DIFFICULT, WITH BRANDT AS A MEDIATOR AS WITH CLIFFORD, SINCE MANY OF THESE DIFFICULTIES ARE ROOTED IN THEIR INTERNAL POLITICAL SITUATION, AND THERE WOULD STILL BE THE PROBLEM OF APPARENT TURKISH CAPITULATION TO U.S. PRESSURE AS EXERCISED THROUGH ARMS EMBARGO, NOW SUPPLEMENTED BY IMPUTED "ECONOMIC EMBARGO". SULZBERGER, OF COURSE, ALSO REPORTED WIDESPREAD CONVICTION OF THE EXISTENCE OF A DELIBERATE AMERICAN ECONOMIC EMBARGO.

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5. WE DO NOT KNOW TO WHAT EXTENT THERE WOULD BE ANY
INTEREST IN TURKEY IN USING BRANDT OR ANY OTHER OUTSIDE
MEDIATOR IN CONNECTION WITH CYPRUS, SINCE THE TURKS
GENERALLY SUSPECT THAT ANY OUTSIDER WILL BE MANIPULATED BY
THE GREEKS. WE WOULD ANTICIPATE THAT THEIR OBJECTIONS TO SUCH
A ROLE FOR BRANDT WOULD BE INHERENTLY LESS THAN THE OBJECTIONS
THEY APPARENTLY HAVE HAD FROM A VERY EARLY
STAGE TO CLIFFORD, OBJECTIONS WHICH HAVE NOW BEEN SEVERELY
INTENSIFIED BY EVENTS SURROUNDING MAKARIOS' FUNERAL. HOWEVER
THE FACT THAT BRANDT AS A SOCIAL DEMOCRAT IS IDENTIFIED IN
TURKEY AS BEING CLOSE TO ECEVIT AND THE REPUBLIC PEOPLE'S
PARTY MIGHT LESSEN HIS ACCEPTABILITY DOMESTICALLY. SULZBERGER'S
THESIS IS THAT BRANDT, FOR WHOM HE OBVIOUSLY HAS GREAT ADMIRATION,
WOULD NEGOTIATE NOT ONLY WITH TURKS, GREEKS AND CYPRIOTS
BUT ALSO WITH THE UNITED STATES, IN LINE WITH HIS
"WE ARE PART OF THE PROBLEM" VIEW I.E. ARRANGING FOR
U.S. RELAXATION OR LIFTING OF ARMS EMBARGO OR CEILING AS PART
OF GENERAL PROCESS OF REACHING A GREEK/TURKISH/CYPRUS SOLUTION.
(FRG EMBASSY TELLS US BRANDT HAS NO INTENTION OF MEDIATING AT
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THIS TIME.)

6. IF DEPARTMENT SEES SOME MERIT IN THE BRANDT IDEA, WE
COULD TAKE DISCREET SOUNDINGS ON TURKISH REACTIONS. IN
ANY EVENT IF WE ENCOUNTER ANY, WE WILL REPORT THEM. AS
A GENERAL PROPOSITION, BECAUSE TURKISH/AMERICAN RELATIONS ARE
SO TENSE, WE FORESEE MANY DIFFICULTIES IN OUR CONTINUING
MEDIATOR ROLE, ALTHOUGH WE DO NOT FEEL THEY ARE INSURMOUNTABLE.
THE DIFFICULTY FOR THE TURKS IN THE KIND OF U.S. ROLE IMPLICIT
IN THE CLIFFORD MISSION STEMS FROM THE FACT THEY DO NOT REGARD
THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AS AN IMPARTIAL ELEMENT, NOT BECAUSE
ITS INTENTIONS ARE PRO-GREEK OR ANTI-TURK (ALTHOUGH MANY
FIRMLY BELIEVE THIS) BUT BECAUSE, IN THE "OBJECTIVE NATURE OF
THINGS", IT CANNOT BE IMMUNE FROM THE PRESSURES OF THE GREEK
LOBBY. WE WILL CONTINUE TO DO OUR BEST TO REBUT THIS
VIEW, BUT THEY THINK THEY KNOW BETTER THAN WE DO.
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